COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Sir, I confess I look back with astonishment, when that Great General [Buonaparté] was so *vilely* " *libelled.* He has now fully proved his title to *heroic honours.* Never since the days of Hannibal " have such *splendid* events opened upon the world with such decisive consequences. It appears to " me, that the changes produced in the feelings of men, with respect to their admiration of exalted " or distinguished characters, in a great measure, are to be attributed to the *taste* and *fashion* that " prevail. *These are not times when* KINGS *have any reason to be proud* of their wealth or superior " power. *The admiration of mankind is not now confined to the character of* KINGS: the world has had a " lesson of the effects of *their ambition.* Buonaparté has shewn his country, that his object is to " maintain his power by the *moderation of his government.*"——MR. SHERIDAN'S SPEECH, June 27, 1800, just after the battle of Marengo.—Debrett's Parl. Debates.

LETTER IV.

TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ. M. P.

SIR,——As a wholesale dealer in *philanthropy* and *liberty*, your reputation had long been established previous to the French revolution; but, if I recollect right, it was not till the mutiny in the fleet, in the year 1797, that you became celebrated for that "*true English feeling*," on the properties, application, and effects of which I shall now, with your leave, offer a few observations.—To administer a plaster, after having broken one's head, has seldom been regarded as an action worthy of general praise, nor of much gratitude on the part of the patient; yet, it appears to me, that your true English feeling has no better claim to either; for, it never has been applied, except in the midst of that public calamity, which you yourself had contributed to produce. After five years of constant opposition to a war, which was waged against atheism and rebellion; after having, during the whole of that time, used every effort to persuade the people, that they were expending their treasure and their blood in the cause of despotism; after having made use of all the means best calculated to destroy every sentiment in favour of the contest, to damp the spirit, to disgust, and to render discontented both the army and the navy; after this it was, that you expressed a horror of the conduct of the mutineers, that is to say, of the men, who had made an humble attempt to carry your own principles into practice. I do not censure your conduct on that occasion, because, for the moment at least, it could do no harm; but, that I think it entitled to very little praise, will appear from the remarks I made on it at the time, and which I shall now repeat, in an extract from "Porcupine's Gazette," published at Philadelphia, on the 13th of June, 1797.—"This "event" [the mutiny] "will teach the people of England to place less reliance upon "their fleet and more upon their army; "less confidence in naval tactics than in "their own courage and strength; less dependence on the ever-shifting and inconstant waves, than in their immoveable "soil. The republicans rejoice in the expectation of beholding the destruction of "Britain. The destruction of her fleet "they may behold, but base indeed must "my countrymen have become, if they are "not still able and willing to preserve the "throne of their Sovereign, and with it "their own liberties; all beyond which is, "at best, a very questionable good. The "worst symptom, that I perceive in the affairs of England, is, the applause, which "the English news-papers lavish on that "* * * * * * * * Mr. Sheridan, in consequence, of something which it appears "he has said against the mutineers. It is "absolutely impossible, that the English people can have forgotten the former language "and sentiments of this gentleman, and to "affect to forget it, just in the hour of distress, is, I must confess, to betray a want of "that high spirit, which is peculiarly necessary in their present situation. Their "conduct, in this instance, resembles that "of a terrified patient, who, despairing of "his case, gladly accepts of the assistance "of one whom he knows to be a quack. "Mr. Pitt, instead of joining in the applause bestowed on Mr. Sheridan, should "have treated his proffered support with "disdain, and should have availed himself "of so favourable an opportunity of showing the fatal consequences of the efforts "of his opponents. By pursuing a contrary "course, he will, when it is too late, find "that he has assisted in puffing up a reputation, which will be made to answer the "most mischievous purposes."——This, Sir, was written a few weeks after the mutiny broke out. I was, indeed, at a great distance from the scene; but in some cases, those who are at a distance see best; and, after having now had a few years to take a

nearer view of British politics and political characters, I really find no reason to alter my opinion with regard to your true English feeling, as displayed at the time of the mutiny in the fleet——The next occasion, which presented itself for the exhibition of this admirable quality, was, if I mistake not, upon the revival of the armed neutrality, in 1801. You had constantly combatted, separately, every principle, on which we went to war against the Northern Powers. On that occasion you talked loudly about "nailing the flag to the mast, and sinking "the vessel of state, rather than yield one "jot of our maritime rights;" but this language never fell from you, till you perceived, that the war with the Northern Powers was popular; never, till you were morally certain, that the expedition would be attended with success, and that that success was at no great distance. That the sentiments you expressed had no very solid foundation appeared pretty evident, when Lord Hawkesbury's convention came, a few months afterwards, to be laid before the parliament; for, though, in that convention was surrendered the most important part of those rights, which we had armed to defend, though it, in many instances, contained the substance and the very words of the compact, on which the armed-neutrality was founded, though, in short, nothing could well be more disgraceful to this country, yet, from your lips one word was never heard on the subject. Your dashing speech had obtained some fifty puffs in the news-papers, which had produced their intended effect amongst the silly shop-keeping politicians; and, as to the maritime rights you now appear to have cared no more for them, than for the injuries sustained by your unfortunate friend, the Nabob of Arcot, whom, after having represented him as the most injured of mortals, you have abandoned to his fate, because England is threatened with invasion!—— Your true English feeling again broke out on the tenth of March last, during the debates, which followed the King's first message relative to the dispute with France; but, as I noticed that, in a letter which I then addressed to you *, I shall now hasten to the last memorable display of this invaluable feeling, which, strange as it may seem, did not take place during the debate *on the address to the Throne in answer to the King's communication of the declaration of war.* That was the time, one would think, for you to evince your famous feeling against France and in favour of England. But, though the debate was very long, though it did, indeed, last two days, not a word, no not one single word did you say, to encourage the people to rally round their Sovereign, or to assure that Sovereign of your cordial support in maintaining the contest. That manly, that truly loyal and patriotic part was left to be acted by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, and by all those noblemen and gentlemen of the new opposition, in both Houses, whom you have since had the modesty to represent as endeavouring to create despondency, and to embarrass the operations of government. You did not even give a *silent vote* in support of the address, and yet you had not the courage to remain and vote with Messrs. Fox and Grey, whose conduct I regard as fair and honourable, though their principles and their arguments were such as I could not approve of. From this time to the close of the session you took no part in the debates. All the great questions relative to taxes, and to the defence of the country, were suffered to pass over without the sound of your voice being heard in the House. Once or twice, indeed, you called somebody to order; and, in answer to what Mr. Calcraft said respecting a ballot for general service, you made a saving remark on that inexhaustible and most convenient topic, the *British Constitution.* You also said a few words in favour of a council of war, and voted with Mr. Fox in the division; but, the first time you found Mr. Fox absent, you contradicted what you had before asserted, and what you had voted for. With these few trifling exceptions, you were as mute as a fish, from the day war was declared to the 4th of August, that is to say, during seven of the most momentous weeks ever known to the British Parliament. But, when all the tax-bills had been got over; when all the measures of defence had been discussed and agreed on; when men and money had been provided; when the nation had been awakened to a due sense of its danger, and when its spirit had been rouzed by the eloquence and the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, then, behold, *you* came swaggering, like Falstaff with Hotspur upon his back; then you came with your reproaches against those, who talked of danger, and with your vote of thanks to those brave heroes, the members of volunteer corps, who you had the sagacity to perceive, would soon compose a large majority of all the busy, officious, and noisy men in the country. For this memorable occasion it was, that you reserved the grand exhibition of your true English feeling; this was the *bonne bouche* of the

* Vol. III. p. 385.

piece; the session was just closing, the curtain was just going to drop, and your scheme was to send off the audience deeply impressed with your merits. But, till after the prorogation of Parliament, the full extent of your views, in bringing forward the vote of thanks, was not perceived. Your ostentatious visit to the St. James's and other Volunteer Corps; your being brought forward in the front of those corps, while under arms; the industrious circulation of the speech of Rolla, in all manner of forms, with your name at the head and foot of it; all this appeared so disgusting that one could hardly conceive how you could give into it, till it was, last week announced, that Drury Lane Theatre was *to open with Pizarro*, at the performance of which *the members of all the Volunteer Corps were expected to attend!* It was stated, in a circular puff, 'that this most patriotic play was 'from the hand of Mr. Sheridan, that *to* 'Mr. Sheridan it was whom the Volunteer 'Corps were indebted for the thanks voted 'them by the House of Commons, and that, 'therefore, it was hoped, that the play-'house would be *crowded with Volun-'teers!!!*' "If," as Mr. Windham observed, "the ministers were susceptible of "shame, shame would have killed them "long ago;" on them, therefore, I shall not call to blush; but, what must be the reflection of every member of the House of Commons, upon reading this puff? If Mr. Whitbread had moved for the Vote of Thanks, and if, by way of return, the Volunteers had been publicly solicited to drink no beer but that of his brewing, what would have been, nay, what *must* have been the conclusion? And yet, it would be very difficult to find any difference in the two cases. What, therefore, again I ask, what must be the reflection of every honourable member of the House of Commons, upon reading this bare-faced, this most impudent puff? What must be his reflection upon finding, that the vote which Lord Hawkesbury wished to see recorded as the pride and the example of posterity, is made use of for the purpose of filling the deserted benches of a theatre; played off upon the public as a compensation for the want of new scenery and of theatrical talent! Say not, Sir, that this is prying into your private concerns. Your eulogists have rendered your theatre, in relation to this subject, a public concern. They have connected your play-house performances with your parliamentary proceedings, and have made the latter a ground for giving encouragement to the former; and this has been done in the most public manner possible, and through the very same channels that the proceedings of Parliament are conveyed. For a similar reason, it is become necessary to examine and expose the political principles of Pizarro itself. A speech from this play has been extracted and published under the title of "*Sheridan's Address to the* "*People*," bearing the motto, "*Our King*, "*our Country, and our God*," and signed by you, in due form, as follows.—

"SHERIDAN'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

"*Our King, our Country, and our God!*

"My brave Associates—Partners of my "Toil, my Feelings, and my Fame!—Can "Words add Vigour to the VIRTUOUS "ENERGIES which inspire your Hearts? "——No—YOU have judged as I have, "the *Foulness* of the *crafty Plea* by which "these bold INVADERS would delude "you—Your generous Spirit has com-"pared, as mine has, the *Motives* which, "in a War like this, can animate *their* "Minds, and OURS.—THEY, by a strange "Frenzy driven, fight for Power, for "Plunder, and extended Rule—WE, for "our Country, our Altars, and our "Homes.—THEY follow an ADVEN-"TURER, whom they fear—and obey "a Power which they *hate*—WE serve "a *Monarch* whom we love—a GOD "whom we adore. Whene'er they move "in Anger, *Desolation* tracks their Pro-"gress!—Where'er they pause in Amity, "*Affliction* mourns their Friendship!—They "boast, they come but to improve our "State, enlarge our Thoughts, and free us "from the Yoke of Error!—Yes—*they* will "give enlightened Freedom to *our* Minds, "who are themselves the *Slaves* of Passion, "Avarice, and Pride.—They offer us their "Protection—Yes, such Protection as *Vul-"tures* give to Lambs—covering and de-"vouring them!—They call on us to bar-"ter all of Good we have inherited and "proved, for the desperate Chance of "Something better which they *promise*.— "Be our plain Answer this: The Throne "*we* honour is the *People's Choice*—the "Laws we reverence are our brave Fathers' "Legacy—the Faith we follow teaches us "to live in Bonds of Charity with all Man-"kind, and die with Hope of Bliss beyond "the Grave. Tell your *Invaders* this; and "tell them too, we seek no Change; and, "least of all, such Change as *they* would "bring us."

"R. B. SHERIDAN."

——This speech, thus decked off with all

the airs of typographical harlotry, makes a conspicuous figure in the "complete assort-" ments" of those wholesale dealers in loyalty and patriotism, who, like yourself, were, a very little while ago, wholesale dealers in the praises of Buonaparté *. It is, by all your familiars, the great and little devils of the daily presses, trumpetted to the world as an irrefragable proof of your loyalty. It has been, and yet is, stuck up on every dead wall, rotten post, and dirty corner in the metropolis, where it is become the formidable rival of the patriotic and philanthropic addresses of Messrs. Leake, Spilsbury, and Perkins ——Of the theology of this speech, I shall only observe, that, as far as it goes, it prefers deism before christianity. The loyalty of it is very little better; for, if "the THRONE *we* honour be the *people's* "*choice*," the choice of that same people who rejoiced at the peace of Amiens, and who drew Lauriston, in triumph, through the gates of the Palace, they may choose to have another throne, or to have no throne at all. In fact, this is the doctrine of *cashiering Kings*, and choosing others in their stead, a doctrine which the vile rabble delight in, but which every man of sense and of loyalty turns from with horror, as from the source of disobedience and rebellion. That this dangerous sentiment is not to be ascribed to the German original, and that you took some little pains to introduce it, will appear from shortly extracting the several speeches, out of which you have manufactured your loyalty.—

ROLLA. For God! and for our King! away and renew the battle.

ALONZO. God and our King!

ATALIBA [the King]. I know the hearts of my people. Should my shield be pierced and rendered useless, there is not one of my subjects that would hesitate to present his breast as a buckler for his King.

* * * Do the Spaniards still remain inactive?

ROLLA. *They* fight for sordid gold—*we* for our native land.

ALONZO. They are led to battle by an *adventurer*—we by a *monarch* whom we love.

ATALIBA. And by a God, whom we adore.†

——The latter Speeches are preserved, by you, almost entire, and are incorporated in Rolla's address. That, and the universal shout, which you attribute to the army, and which is composed of words taken from the hymn in the original, are the only instances of the *king* or the "*monarch*" being mentioned in this effusion of loyalty. In that part which alone is your property, not the king but the "*throne*" is named, and named but once, though accompanied with the very heavy drawback of depending on the "people's choice."——In the original there are several scenes, in which a blind veteran and his boy are introduced, during the heat of the battle, awaiting the event at a small distance, and expressing their feelings at every turn of fortune. All the language of the veteran is full of the *warmest* loyalty. But these scenes have been all much shortened and compressed by you, who have thought the space better filled up with bustle and incident, swords and shields, battle-axes, spears, guns, drums, and trumpets.——But, the most curious alteration certainly is that where the word *king* is left out, and that of *throne* inserted in its stead. Let it be remembered, Sir, that a Peruvian was the speaker; and, that there was no people upon earth, to whom any sentiment of democracy could be attributed with less propriety or regard to truth. The maxim of the country were, that the sovereigns succeeded by divine right, and were a peculiar race, descended, in no very remote degree, from the Sun himself. And, such was the personal devotion, with which the reigning Inca was regarded by his subjects, that the Spaniards could hardly force their way to the litter of Ataliba, from the mere fatigue of slaughtering the numbers, who pressed forward, unarmed, to offer themselves to voluntary destruction in his defence. No one who has read of the Spanish conquests is ignorant of these facts. Yet, into the mouth of your Peruvian orator, you have put no one word expressive of attachment to the person of his sovereign; but, you have, with great care, taken out of his mouth the expressions of this sort, and, instead of their "*king*," you have made him call upon the soldiers to fight for their "*country*," of which the copper-coloured general and his "brave associates," had no other notion than that it had been a desert inhabited by savages, till Mango Capac, two or three hundred years before, was sent by his father, the Sun, to civilize it! This is pretty well, but what shall we say, when your "truly English" play-vamping loyalty has enlightened Rolla, so long before the poor fellow's time, with the most brilliant illumination of the republican societies here, affiliated and unaffiliated, of which you yourself were a member? You use the very phrases of their favourite maxim, that the *throne*, which, by the by, they laughed at as a "metaphor," is the "choice of the people." This, every

* Of this literary empiricism I shall give a full account, when I come to treat more minutely of your connexion with the press.

† Dutton's literal translation.

one must remember, was the corner stone of the creed of Price, Paine, O'Connor, and all their disciples; nor, ought it ever to be forgotten, that it was for endeavouring to eradicate the pernicious effects of this rebellious king-killing creed, that you carried on, against Mr. Reeves, a persecution unparalleled in the annals of British jurisprudence. It is not strange that a member of the "Constitutional Society" and the founder of the "Friends of the People;" that the humble imitator of Marat, and the *sworn* friend of O'Connor; it is by no means strange, that such a person should, for the sake of inculcating the doctrine of cashiering kings, sacrifice all dramatic propriety of character; but, it is strange, that the ambiguous applause of the galleries, and the corrupt praises of the newspapers, should ever have made pass for loyalty, those principles, which, if acted upon, would compel his Majesty's successors to ascend the throne, if they ascended it at all, from the hustings of Covent Garden, or of some other place, where "the *choice of the people*" might be made known: that this should pass for attachment to the king and his royal progeny is, indeed, a most shocking proof of the national cullibility.——As to the application, too, of the fable of Pizarro, it must not be forgotten, that, in spite of your "murder of the Spaniard and history "at a blow," as Mr. Dutton very well expresses it, the Peruvians, whom, in this instance, you make the representatives of the English, were notoriously *conquered* by an "*adventurer*;" and, Mr. Rolla will have the goodness to excuse me, if, as far as I am concerned, I beg leave to disclaim his comparison of the "*vultures* and the *lambs*."——Before I conclude, it is necessary to advert to the *time*, when the loyal Rolla first made his appearance before the British public; for, in estimating your true English feeling, *time* is always a very important circumstance——You came forth with this wonderful burst of loyalty and patriotism, in the month of May, 1799; the real alarm of invasion had long before ceased with Buonaparté's sailing on his Egyptian expedition; Suwarrow was in the midst of his victorious campaign; we had just heard of Buonaparté's repulse before Acre by that truly English and Christian hero Sir Sidney Smith; it was the moment of severest trial to the French Republic, which appeared so fast mouldering to pieces; the spirit of the people ran high, and no other language was so likely to flatter them into a favourable reception of the piece. This was the time, this season of Buonaparté's adversity, that you chose for applying to him the hateful character, which Kotzebue drew of Pizarro, and for contrasting the "ADVENTURER, "*whom his own army feared*," with the beloved "MONARCH *whom we served from* "*affection*:" this was the time, that you chose for representing Buonaparté as fired with inordinate ambition, as a plunderer, a devastator, a hypocrite, a mercenary and bloody villain. Now mark, Sir, the description which you drew of him twelve months afterwards, when the aspect of things had changed; when our expedition to Holland had failed, and our Russian auxiliaries had been left behind, prisoners of war; when Massena had totally routed the combined armies of Austrians and Russians in Swisserland; and when Buonaparté himself, through a series of most fortunate and unexpected adventures, had arrived at the Consular dignity, and had confirmed his power by the signal and decisive victory of Marengo. At this moment, when he presented himself to the world in the new character of an usurper, covered with the blood of his prisoners of war and of his own sick soldiers, and, at the same time, crowned with laurels won from the allies of your country; at this moment, when not only every faithful Briton, but every honest and honourable man upon earth, must have viewed him with hatred and with horror; at this very moment it was that your mind experienced a change *in his favour*, and that your "*true English feeling*" burst forth in a manner which, I trust, will never be forgotten, either by our Sovereign or his subjects.——"What," said you, "has "been the species of *abuse*, with which "his" [Buonaparté's] "character has been "attacked? Not merely that he is a hypo"crite, that he is a man devoid of prin"ciple, that he is not only divested of mo"rality but of religion also, professing "whatever mode of faith best answers his "purpose. But, we have seen religion "obtain a tolerant exemption in her fa"vour under the government of this "atheist; we have seen the faith of trea"ties observed under the government of "this perfidious adventurer; the arts and "sciences find protection under this plun"derer; the sufferings of humanity have "been alleviated under this ferocious usur"per; the arms of France have been led "to victory by this Tyro in the art and "practice of war! Sir, I confess to you, "that I look back with astonishment to "the period when that great general was so "*vilely libelled*." [Forgetting the plunderer, the devastator, the hypocrite, the mer-

cenary bloody villain, which you had represented him in Pizarro] "I was wont to "expect more candour, more elevation of "sentiment, in an English gentleman. But "*the war* has deadened every heroic feeling "which once gave the tone to the martial "spirit of this abused country. Unfortunately for us, the French General has "fully proved his title to *heroic honours*. "Never, since the days of Hannibal have "such *splendid* events opened on the world "with such decisive consequences. 'Cu-"'jus adolescentia ad scientiam rei mili-"'taris, non alienis præceptis, sed suis "'imperiis; non offensionibus belli, sed "'victoriis; non stipendiis, sed triumphis, "'est traducta *.' Such is the portrait of "the man, with whom his Majesty's ministers have refused to treat! Sir, I may be "censured for applying such a term as *taste* "to a subject of such importance; but it "does appear to me, that the changes produced in the feelings of men, with respect "to their admiration of exalted or distinguished characters, in a great measure, "are to be attributed to the *taste* and "*fashion* that prevails. These are not times "when KINGS *have any reason to be proud* "of their wealth or superior power. The "admiration of mankind is not confined to "the character of Kings: the world has "had a lesson of the effects of *their ambition*. Buonaparté has shown his country "that his object is to maintain *his* power "by the *moderation* of his government; and "I must hope, that, when he has achieved "the *liberty* of France, he will impart to it "all the *blessings and happiness of civilized* "*peace*. It must be in the recollection of "the House, how much stress was laid on "the conduct of this man, with regard to "the success of any negotiations for terminating war; but, has he not *sufficiently* "developed his character, and given *proofs* "of the *security* and *permanence*, with which "our government might conclude a treaty "with him?"——There, Sir; I will quote not further. If I did not despise that rabble of volunteers, to whom you so assiduously pay your court, and who are proud of your flatteries, I should throw away a few guineas in causing this extract to be printed, and pasted up about the town, by the side of Mr. Rolla's address. But, no; let these *committee* soldiers be still deceived: they are made for you, as the gudgeon is made for the pike. Take them, cram your play-house with them, amuse them with your tragic puppet-shows, frighten them with your baby-scaring pantomimes: put them any where, do any thing with them, so that you keep them from spoiling the arms, eating the provisions, loading the baggage-waggons, and lumbering up the road of the army——From the time that the above speech was delivered, till the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace, you continued to extol Buonaparté, and to abuse those, who refused to treat with him; particularly Lord Grenville, to whose "insolence," as you thought proper to call it, in rejecting the first overtures of the Consul, you constantly ascribed all the misfortunes of the country, not excepting the *scarcity of corn*, and the consequent high price of bread! After the conclusion of the peace, the manner in which you spoke of your hero, was very equivocal, till just before the last prorogation of Parliament. During, as I before observed, seven of the most momentous weeks ever known to the British Parliament, you said not one word. When every measure of importance had been completed, when the people became loud against Buonaparté, then came you with your Vote of Thanks in the House, and your speech of Rolla out of doors. And, I must not be told, that you came forward in a time of danger; for, according to your own opinion, as delivered in the debate on the Vote of Thanks, the *danger was over*. You said, on that occasion, that Mr. Windham, by speaking contemptuously of the *courage* of the people and the *means* of the country (which, by the by, he never did), had "led "Buonaparté into a *scrape*;" that the Consul was now *repenting of his rashness*, that he was himself *afraid* of us; and, like Sir Andrew Aguecheek in the play, was, at that moment, saying, with respect to John Bull: "An I had thought him *valiant* I would "have seen him damned ere I would have "challenged him." This was the light in which you viewed the state of things: you thought Buonaparté "in a *scrape*;" you perceived, that the "*taste* and *fashion*" of the times were changed again; that they had taken a decided run against the Consul, and that, unless you pressed forward, you would be too late. Thus have you chopped backward and forward just as your popularity and interest dictated. When Buonaparté was in adversity, in 1799, and when the popular cry was against him, then you were against him: when Buonaparté rose upon the ruins of the Austrian, the Russian, and

* Whose youth was led in military pursuits, not by the precepts of others, but by the dictates of his own mind; not by the accidents of war, but by victories; not by the prospect of pecuniary reward, but by the love of glory.

the British army, then you were in his favour, and joined your voice to the public clamour for peace with him: but, when events had again roused the people against him, and when you thought him "in a "*scrape*," then you returned to your hostility, and actually drew forth, and played off, in open day-light, the very same bombastical abuse which you had before poured down upon his devoted head. When he was "in a scrape," in 1799, he was Pizarro; when he was crowned with laurels, in 1800, he was Hannibal; when he was, as you thought, at least, in another "scrape" in 1803, then he became Pizarro again. I wish, Sir, he may continue Pizarro; but, if the present ministers remain in power, and if you and yours remain unprovided for, he will, I greatly fear, become Hannibal again, and you his fulsome panegyrist. In what form of words you may dress up your next eulogium on him, it is difficult to foretel; but, that you should pronounce such an eulogium, and that in a very short space of time too, would certainly be most surprising to those who are the least acquainted with the operation of your "true English feel-"ing."——Yet, Sir, amidst the notoriety of facts like these it is, that you have the temerity to challenge a public examination of your conduct, while the hireling news-writers, whose praises are paid for by an admission to your theatre, have the audacity to assert, that, "amongst all the aberrations of "parties and the vicissitudes of events, Mr. "Sheridan has been *pro patria semper!*" I have taken up the gauntlet; I have accepted the challenge; I have entered on the examination; and, Sir, in spite of all the falsehoods of your typographical adherents, you and I part not, till your public character be safely placed beyond the reach of all those numerous accidents, to which the loose sheets of the diurnal prints are exposed.—— I am, Sir, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

Duke Street, 10th Sep. 1803.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,——I have read with much surprise the following paragraph in the TREASURY PAMPHLET (which has been circulated with so much industry, and by such extraordinary means), entitled CURSORY REMARKS upon the State of Parties. "A great part "of the summer of 1802, was taken up "with the general election; in which the "ministers had taken the SINGULAR *re-"solution of using no influence or interference "whatsoever.*" As I presume the writer meant to assert, although he certainly has not done so in direct terms, that they ADHERED TO *this resolution*, I shall state to the Public a few plain facts from which a judgment may be formed, how far they deserve that character of practical reformers, with which he has endeavoured to invest them.——I shall confine myself to transactions which took place in the county of Kent, where I was "a near observer," where government, as such, possess a more extensive influence than in any other county; where the present minister possesses no influence but what he derives from his situation, and where that influence was openly and systematically exerted at every contested election, where it could be exerted with effect.——At the election for the county of Kent, the influence of government was at first exerted in favour of Sir Edward Knatchbull and Sir William Geary, the old members; when it became evident from the state of the poll that Mr. Honeywood's election was secure, it was then exerted against Sir William Geary, although that gentleman had given to ministers a liberal and honourable support from their first entrance into office. This interference was afterwards most unequivocally confessed and avowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself.—— The city of Rochester was canvassed, some months before the election, by Admiral Sir Richard King, who in the plainest terms described himself as the candidate sent down by government——It appears from the address of Mr. Fector, a gentleman of undoubted honour and veracity, to the electors of Dover, that Mr. Huskisson stood for that town on the interest of government, and I am credibly informed, and believe it will not be denied, that MR. HILEY ADDINGTON wrote a letter to SIR SIDNEY SMITH, expressive of the astonishment of government, that his brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, should offer himself in opposition to the candidate supported by ministers.—— At Queenborough, where the influence of government is greater than in any other borough in the kingdom, the powers of office were exerted to an unprecedented extent: not only were places and employments of all kinds offered to the electors by inferior partizans, but Mr. Sargent himself, who was one of the government candidates, and at that time a member of the Board of Ordnance *, promised, while he was on his canvass, Mr. Pellatt, one of the electors, to

* He is now one of the Secretaries to the Treasury.

procure his vessel to be taken into the service of the ordnance.——That I may not be suspected of stating the transaction unfairly, I will state it in his own words by subjoining, in a note below, authentic copies of two of his own letters to Mr. Pellatt and his son subsequent to his promise †.—— After the election, all the labourers on the ordnance gun wharf at Sheerness, who had voted against the government candidates, together with a labourer in the store-house in the dock-yard, were dismissed; the latter was informed by Commissioner Coffyn in direct terms, that he was dismissed because he had voted for Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Moore. William Poulter, a superannuated labourer in the dock-yard, and Thomas Morley who had been formerly an ordnance labourer, and on account of BLINDNESS had been placed on the charity list at five shillings per week, by a board order in December 1799. were deprived of their respective allowances very soon after the election. ——These circumstances of unexampled violence and severity, have since been represented without effect to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by a gentleman who is an elector of the borough ——I shall make no comments on the facts which I have stated, and which I shall be ready, whenever called on, fully to substantiate.

DETECTOR.

Sept. 6, 1803.

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† (COPY.)

"*Board of Ordnance, May* 18, 1802

"SIR,——We find, upon inquiry, that, if the "vessel, which you wish to have at Chatham, "was established *immediately*, that it would, perhaps, give offence to many of our other friends "at Queenborough; we think, therefore, it would "be better to defer it for three or four weeks, till "*after the election*. I think you can have no objection to this, as the time is so short, and cannot "make much difference. You may depend upon "it being done at that time; and put on the footing which you desire,——I am, Sir, your "obliged humble servant. J. SARGENT."

Mr. F. Pellatt.

(COPY.)

Lavington, May 21, 1802.

SIR,——"I am just favoured with your letter, "and am sorry to find that the proposal which I "made to you of deferring the establishing "the vessel at Chatham till AFTER THE ELECTION, does not meet your concurrence. It really "appears to me that it would be attended with "advantage to OUR CAUSE; but as you insist upon "the performance of THE ENGAGEMENT directly, "I shall certainly make good MY PROMISE, and "will immediately write to Mr. Crow that the "thing may be carried into execution, agreeable "to your wishes."——I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant, JOHN SARGENT.

Mr. F. Pellatt.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Extract from the Register of the PROCEEDINGS *of the* COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLIC, *on the 26th of August* 1803.

THE COUNCIL OF STATE, on the decree of the President of the Republic, for arming and defending the sea-coast; on the report of the Minister of War relative to the hostilities and insults committed against the territories, ships, and property of the Republic; on the official notes relative to the disposition of the British Government towards the Republic; and on the report of the minister of exterior relations, concerning the recent proofs of friendship and consideration given by the French Government to the Republic, as well as the measures taken in its favour, with the Regency of Tunis, and in including it in the treaty with the Batavian Republic; considering that the sincerity, dignity, and interest of the Republic require the most prompt and energetic measures, that policy, national faith, and the gratitude due to the First Consul, oblige the Republic to contribute by all the means in its power to the success of the just war now waged by France against Great Britain; acknowledging the necessity of the immediate execution of the said decree of the President, and of a vigorous co-operation in the support of the common cause,—DECREES,—1st. That the government will take the most effective measures to defend the territory, property, and inhabitants of the Republic from the hostility of the English.—2d. The government is authorised to concert measures with the French government, for building and arming in the ports of France, at the expense of the Italian Republic, 2 frigates and 12 gun-boats, to be at the disposal of the First Consul, during the war.

MELZI, Vice President.

Paradizi, Fenaroli, Luzzi, Moscati, Guiaccialdi.

CANZOLI, Sec.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Decree of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT *prohibiting the entry of all* VESSELS *which have* TOUCHED *at* ENGLISH PORTS. *Dated Antwerp,* 1 *Thermidor, An.* 11.

The Government of the Republic decrees:—That from the date of the publication of the present decree, there shall not be received, in the ports of France, any vessel which has cleared out from an English port, nor any vessel which has touched at an English port.—The Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Marine, are charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ.

H. B. MARET, Sec.

Decree of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT, *confining the reception of* BRITISH FLAGS OF TRUCE *to the* BAY OF AUDIERNE. *Dated Antwerp,* 1 *Thermidor, An.* 11.

The Government of the Republic decrees:—That from the date of the publication of the present decree, no English flag of truce, whether it be a packet, or any other, shall be received in any French port between Brest and the mouth of the Scheldt, inclusive. The flags of truce shall be received only in the Bay of Audierne, near Brest.—The Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Marine, are charged with the execution of this decree. (Signed) BUONAPARTÉ.

H. B. MARET, Sec.

Decree of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT, *regulating the size of the* BOATS, *and the age and number of* MEN, *to be employed in the* FISHERIES.—*Dated Antwerp*, 1 *Thermidor, An.* 11.

The Government of the Republic decrees:—That an embargo be laid on all fishing boats, above the burthen of seven tons; the boats under seven tons alone shall continue to fish. The crews of the boats that are permitted to fish shall consist only of seamen who have reached the age which is exempted from the maritime conscription, or of young persons under the age of 15. The boats that are permitted to fish shall not go more than a league from the coast. All the seamen who devote themselves to fishing, shall receive passes, describing the route by which they are to travel, and take them to the military posts of the Republic, where they shall be employed, and paid according to their rank in the service.—The Minister of the Marine is charged with the execution of this decree. (Signed) BUONAPARTÉ.

H. B. MARET, Sec.

Decree of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT, *prohibiting the exportation of* UNDRESSED LEATHER. *Dated Antwerp, 2d Thermidor, An.* 11.

The Government of the Republic decrees:—That from the date of the publication of the present decree, the exportation of tanned leather, undressed, shall be prohibited.—The Minister of the Interior, and the Minister of Finance, are charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed) BUONAPARTÉ.

H. B. MARET, Sec.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CIRCULAR LETTER *from the* RT. HON. C. YORKE, *to the* LORDS LIEUTENANT *of Counties, respecting the* ARMS *for the* VOLUNTEERS.—*Dated Whitehall, August* 30, 1803.

I have the honour to inform your Grace, that directions have been given to the Board of Ordnance to issue, immediately on your Grace's application, such a proportion of arms in the first instance as, including those already delivered or retained in the county of ———, will amount to one of its quota of Volunteers, (calculating their establishment at six times the number of the original militia), should your Grace find, upon investigation, that so large a number is actually necessary for the effective strength of such Volunteers, after making allowance for the quantity of arms which the respective corps may have provided, or may be disposed to provide for themselves.——I must request that your Grace will furnish me, without delay, with an accurate return of the number and description of the arms which have been so retained, delivered, provided, or intended to be provided, specifying in whose hands they now are; and that, in making your demand for arms, you will be careful to distinguish what proportion is necessary for the supply of cavalry and artillery; sabres and pistols being appropriated for the use of the former, and pikes for the latter.——I am also to inform your Grace, that pikes, sufficient to arm the whole number of men serving in the different Volunteer Corps of Artillery, will be delivered on your Grace's application, and specification of the number required; and that a further supply of the same nature may be had to the full extent of the wants of any other corps which may have been or shall hereafter be formed, for whose use this weapon may be preferred.——Your Grace will have the goodness to point out to the Board of Ordnance, with precision, to what places and into whose charge these arms shall be delivered; and it is particularly requested that your Grace will take such precautions as may be necessary in communicating with the general officer commanding in the district, to insure that proper care is taken of them till delivered to the respective corps; and that the commander of each corps is duly made responsible for their safe custody, proper distribution, and accurate re-delivery when called upon for that purpose by regular authority.——When I shall be favoured by your Grace with accurate returns of the amount and description of the whole Volunteer force in the county of ———, I flatter myself that I shall be enabled in due time to direct a further issue for the use of such corps or companies as may remain unprovided. It is, however, considered to be highly desirable that the several bodies of Volunteers should, in the present moment, be encouraged, under proper precautions, to supply themselves.——I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient humble Servant, (Signed) C. YORKE.

The ——— Lieutenant of the County of ———.

Circular Letter from the RT. HON. C. YORKE, *to the* LORDS LIEUTENANT *of* COUNTIES, *respecting the* ESTABLISHMENT *of* VOLUNTEER CORPS.—*Dated Whitehall, August* 30, 1803.

My Lord,—A great number of letters having been transferred to this office from the war department, and many having since been received by this office from the Lieutenants of Counties, respecting offers of Volunteer Corps, or Companies, which, from the extreme pressure of business, there has not been yet time thoroughly to examine and consider; and being at the same time solicitous to prevent any anxiety or dissatisfaction which might arise among the persons whose zeal and loyalty have induced them to come forward upon the present occasion; I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that his Majesty is graciously disposed to accept all the offers which have been recommended by your Lordship, provided the total number of rank and file to be raised under them, together with that of the corps and companies heretofore accepted and established, *does not in the whole exceed the proportion of the County, as limited by Lord Hobart's Letter of the 18th instant, and that such offers do not militate against the regulations of the Defence Act*, and the general rules which it has been, or may be found expedient to adopt.—As soon as I shall be enabled to examine, with more particularity, the offers which have been transmitted by your Lordship, I shall have the honour of communicating his Majesty's special directions on the subject. In the mean time, I cannot omit this opportunity of informing your Lordship, that it is clearly to be understood that, under the genuine construction and meaning of the late Acts of Parliament, all Volunteer Corps and Companies to be accepted subsequent to their passing, should be formed with reference to the general militia system. It follows, that no company ought to consist of less than sixty privates, and that no body of infantry can be considered as a corps which consists of less than three such companies; and that all smaller assemblages of Volunteers, under the above-mentioned Acts, within any county, parish, or district, shall be thrown into *Independent Companies* of not less than

sixty, nor more than *one hundred and twenty* privates. The establishment of Field and Company Officers, as well as of serjeants, corporals, and drummers, is to be fixed by the same rule.——In the yeomanry cavalry, however, a different arrangement will continue to prevail; single troops may be accepted as corps, not being less than forty rank and file, though it is much to be wished that in all cases they should be carried, if possible, to sixty or eighty effectives per troop; and that two or more troops, wherever local circumstances will permit, should be joined together for the purposes of discipline, and interior arrangements.——I take leave to make it my earnest request to your Lordship, that you will favour me, at your earliest convenience, with an exact return of the different corps heretofore accepted, or which are now transmitted for consideration, or which you may hereafter think proper to recommend for acceptance, specifying the particulars of their establishment according to a form which you will receive herewith. I cannot sufficiently impress upon you the necessity of furnishing me with this document, with the least possible delay, as great embarrassment is found to arise from a want of sufficient precision upon these points.——Should it have happened that the number of persons who have offered themselves, up to this period, to serve in Volunteer Corps or Companies, has exceeded the proportion limited, in the first instance, by Lord Hobart's Circular Letter of the 18th inst. for the county of ———, and should your Lordship be of opinion, that it would contribute to the satisfaction of those who might by such limitation be prevented from manifesting their zeal for the public service, I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that there will be no objection to a certain number of such persons, properly selected, being attached to the accepted and established corps, as supernumeraries, in such proportion per troop or company as shall be hereafter fixed upon. ——It is, however, important, that it should be clearly understood, that no expense is to be incurred by the Public on account of the arms, pay, or cloathing of such *supernumeraries*: and that they will not be considered as entitled to any exemptions from the militia or other ballots.——I think it proper to take this opportunity of communicating his Majesty's commands to your Lordship, that measures should be taken without delay in communication with the General Officer commanding in the district, for fixing upon such general place or places of assembly, for the different Volunteer Corps and established Companies of men within the county of ———, as may be deemed most expedient in case of invasion, or the appearance of the enemy in force upon the coast; —and I am further commanded by his Majesty to desire your Lordship, in communication with the General of the district, to distribute such provisional orders to such Volunteer Corps and established Companies of men as aforesaid, with respect to their assembling together and moving upon the general places of assembly, so to be fixed upon in the events above alluded to, as the nature of the case may appear to require.——Your Lordship will likewise be pleased, in communication also with the General Officer commanding, to make such arrangements, if not already done, respecting beacons, and other indications of alarm as may be thought necessary within the county of ———, either with a view to the conveyance of intelligence upon points merely local, or in connexion with the other neighbouring counties towards the sea-coast.——I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant, (Signed) C. Yorke.

The ——— Lieutenant of the County of ———.

ORDERS *relative to the* BLOCKADE *of* HAVRE DE GRACE, *and the* OTHER PORTS *at the* MOUTH *of the* SEINE. *Dated 6th September*, 1803.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c.

The right hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, having acquainted us, by his letter of this day's date, that the King had judged it expedient for the defence of his dominions, and the protection of his Majesty's subjects, to establish the most rigorous blockade at the entrance of the port of Havre-de-Grace, and the other ports of the river Seine, and that the same should be maintained and enforced in the strictest manner according to the usages of war acknowledged and allowed in similar cases; and that his Majesty had further caused it to be notified to the ministers of the neutral powers, that the navigation thereof is, and is to be considered as being in a state of blockade, and that all the measures authorised by the laws of nations, and the respective treaties between his Majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to vessels attempting to violate the said blockade after such notice: and his lordship having at the same time signified to us, his Majesty's pleasure, that orders should be given for establishing the most complete and rigorous blockade at the entrance of the said ports of Havre and the other ports of the river Seine; and that instructions should be given to the commanders of his Majesty's squadrons and ships of war, and particularly the officer commanding his Majesty's squadron at Guernsey and Jersey, to order the senior officer employed in the said blockade, and all other his Majesty's cruizers, to stop all neutral vessels destined to the said ports, and if they shall appear to be ignorant of the existence of the blockade, and have no enemy's property on board, then only to turn them away, apprizing them that the said ports are in a state of the most complete and rigorous blockade, and writing a notice to that effect upon one or more of the principal ship papers; but if any neutral vessel, which shall appear to have been so warned, or to be otherwise informed of the existence of the blockade, or to have sailed from her last clearing port after it may be reasonably supposed that the notification before-mentioned might have been made public there, shall yet be found attempting or intending to enter either of the said ports, such vessel shall be seized and sent into a port in England for legal adjudication. And in respect to neutral vessels coming out of the port of Havre-de-Grace, or the other ports of the river Seine, any such vessel having any goods on board appearing to have been laden after knowledge of the blockade, shall in like manner be seized and sent in for legal adjudication; but that neutral vessels coming out of the said ports in ballast (except such as shall before have entered in breach of the blockade,) or having only goods on board laden before the knowledge of the blockade, shall be suffered to pass (except there be just grounds of detention,) with a similar notice and warning to be written upon the papers, prohibiting such

vessel from again attempting to enter the Seine during the existence of the blockade, and also stating the reason for their permitting her to pass; you are, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure signified to us as above-mentioned, hereby required and directed to govern yourself accordingly.

Given under our hands, the 6th of Sept 1803.

To (Signed) &c. &c.

The respective Flag Officers, Captains, Commanders, and Commanding Officers of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—Abdul Wachab, who has, for some time past, been in possession of Mecca, has laid close siege to Medina. The Pashas of Damascus and Bagdad have both received orders to oppose him, and the former is making preparation for that purpose, but the latter is so completely occupied with the defence of his frontiers that he is unable to join in the attack.——The real cause of the late incursion of Passwan Oglou into Wallachia, was to supply a deficiency in his military chest, and having obtained the necessary sum from the Hospodar, he retired.——The new organization of the Gallicias is completed, and the government definitively fixed at Lemberg. The authorities which were established at Cracow have been dissolved: several of the members will be continued at Lemberg, and the others will be pensioned. The operation of the new system will commence on the 15th of October.——On the 25th of May, the General Landamman of Swisserland wrote to the King of Prussia, to acquaint him of the change which had taken place in the government of that country. On the 17th of July he received, through the medium of M. De Montmolin, President of the Council of State at Neufchatel, his Majesty's answer, "congratulating Swisserland "on the establishment of a definitive con- "stitution, which guarantees its indepen- "dence and secures its tranquillity;" and, at the same time, "assuring them of his "constant eagerness to give them proof of "his friendship." This letter was dated on the 22d of June, and was read in the Diet on the 8th of August.——The French Government has decreed that no neutral vessel which has either cleared out from, or has touched at any English port, shall enter any of the ports of the Republic; and that no flags of truce or packets from England shall be admitted into the ports between Brest and the Scheldt. They have also placed an embargo on all fishing boats of above seven tons burden, and directed that even those under that size shall fish at a short distance from shore, and that their crews shall be composed only of those who are not subject to the maritime conscription. Decrees have been passed for constructing and repairing roads, for forming and widening canals between the Aa and the Scheldt, for raising the embankments and sinking the beds of those rivers; for cleansing, deepening, and improving the ports of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Ostend. The Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt are to be connected by a canal, and there is to be another between Rheims and the sea. Nine docks for ships of the line, and three for frigates are to be constructed at Antwerp: of the former two are to be completed before the 21st September, 1804, and the rest before the 20th of December. A proportionate number of dock-yards, magazines, &c. are to be annexed to these docks, and a bason is immediately to be made at Terneuse, capable of holding twenty-five ships of the line and a proportionate number of frigates and smaller vessels. Large quantities of ship timber are ordered to be marked, and cut down without delay, and conveyed to the nearest ports, under the direction of the Minister of Marine.

DOMESTIC.—The trials of those who were charged with being concerned in the late rebellion in Ireland still proceed; and the decisions of justice are carried into effect without disturbing the peace of the city. Several of the rebels have been found guilty, and some have been executed: one has been acquitted. Thomas Russell, who under the title of General of the Northern District, under the Provisional Government, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of that district, was arrested on the evening of the 9th inst. He is one of the principal conspirators, and his apprehension is considered as important.——A proclamation for the observance of a General Fast throughout England, on the 19th of October, has been signed by his Majesty in Council.——The King has been pleased to appoint William Wass Langford, Esq. to be his Majesty's Agent and Consul General at Tripoli. ——The King has been pleased to grant the dignity of a Baron of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the Right Honourable George Keith, Baron Keith of Stonehaven Marischal, in the county of Kincardine, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, style, and title of Baron Keith, of Banheath, in the county of Dumbarton, and in default of such issue, the

dignity of a Baroness to Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, only daughter of the said Baron Keith, and the dignity of a Baron to the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten. ——On Saturday last, a person who called himself Cobbett, and who said he had just arrived from Guernsey, stopped in a post-chaise at Salt-Hill, and while he was taking some refreshment at one of the principal inns of that place, inquired of the landlord, which was the speediest mode of obtaining an interview with his Majesty, urging as the motive of this inquiry, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him, and would only do it personally. The landlord suspecting him of some evil designs against his Majesty, imparted his suspicions to Lord Rosslyn, who had the stranger apprehended and sent to London for examination.——On Wednesday, another person, armed with a sword, attempted to force his way into the Levee-room, at St. James', under pretence of seeing the Duke of Portland: he was, however, arrested, and after undergoing a long private examination at Bow Street, was committed to the House of Correction.—— The letters which have been received by the last Jamaica mail, are silent on the subject of the conspiracy, which was said to have been discovered among the negroes in that island.

MILITARY.—The Danish army assembled in Holstein receives daily reinforcements. It is supposed to consist of more than 20,000 men, and so eager is the Prince of Denmark to collect a large force on that frontier, that the garrisons of Copenhagen and Elsineur have been considerably reduced, and the military have been chiefly withdrawn from the interior of the kingdom. ——The papers and letters which have recently been received from the Continent, give no information respecting the movements of the French armies, either in Italy, Hanover, or Holland, or on the coasts of France.——The following is a statement of the returns of the British army, made at the commencement of the last month:— In England 10,000 Guards; 17,000 Cavalry (Regulars); 3,000 Artillery (Regulars); 46,400 Infantry (Regulars) including about 20,000 then raised for the Army of Reserve; and 49,000 Militia, exclusive of the Supplementary.—In Ireland:—34,000 Regulars, and 20,000 Militia. An unofficial paper states the regular force now in Great Britain to be nearly 100,000 men, the militia about 100,000, and the volunteers almost 800,000. The force in Ireland has also been greatly augmented, and the volunteers are very numerous.——A great number of miners have been employed, for some weeks past, under the direction of an officer of the Royal Engineers, in placing the fortress of Pendennis, in Cornwall, in a state of defence; barracks are immediately to be erected there for 800 men, and a material addition will be made to the train.——The brigade under the command of Gen. Moore, which was said to have embarked on a secret expedition, still remains encamped at Shorn Cliff, near Dover.——Gen. Dundas has just finished a minute inspection of all the works on the coast of Kent, and has expressed great satisfaction at the preparations which have been made for its defence. —— Government has resolved not to accept the offers of any volunteer corps, after the number shall, in any county, amount to that at which the suspension of the General Defence Bill is authorized by law, unless such offers shall be free from all claim of exemptions, and shall occasion no expense. The volunteers exceeding that number are to be considered as supernumeraries attached to the different corps, but have no title to exemptions. Returns are to be made of all the arms which may be appropriated to the use of the volunteers, and those who cannot be supplied with muskets are to be armed with pikes.

NAVAL.—The Capitan Pacha, with part of the fleet destined for Egypt, set sail from Constantinople on the 24th of June last; and the Turkish High Admiral followed, two days after, with the rest. The whole armament consists of 1 ship of 120 guns, 6 of 74, and 8 frigates; and has on board a considerable number of troops. —— Ten frigates are now equipping at Woolwich and Deptford, for the defence of the Thames, and are, when completed to be put under the direction of the Corporation of the Trinity House.—— On the 11th inst. Capt. Burke, in the Sea Gull, after a chase of five hours, engaged the Lord Nelson, English East-India ship: the contest continued several hours, with great obstinacy, but Sir Edward Pellew's squadron heaving in sight, the Lord Nelson struck. She had been boarded and captured, thirteen days before, by the French ship Bellona, of 36 guns and 320 men. On board the Sea Gull 2 seamen were killed, and the First Lieut 7 seamen, and 1 marine were wounded. The engagement between the Bellona and the Lord Nelson continued an hour and fifteen minutes, during which time five were killed and 31 wounded on board the Lord Nelson. —— Various decrees have been issued by the French Government,

directing the building of gun vessels and flat-bottomed boats in the different ports of the Republic: 2 frigates and 12 gun-boats are also to be built by order and at the expense of the Italian Republic, in the ports of France, and are to be at the disposal of the First Consul, during the war. 4,462 conscripts have been placed under the direction of the Minister of Marine, to be employed as labourers in the ports and maritime arsenals. Admiral Bruix, who at present commands at Boulogne, is appointed Grand Admiral of the National Flotilla, now preparing to act against England.—— The late numbers of the Moniteur give an account of the several English vessels, which have been taken at different times and carried into the ports of the Republic.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA AND MALTA.—It was stated, in the preceding sheet, p. 380, that the mediation of Russia had terminated in a proposition, on the part of that power, to have, herself, the possession of Malta, for *ten years*; and, that this proposition had been rejected by his Majesty's ministers. It has frequently been asserted, that Russia wished to have Malta; and some pretty good reasons, why she should not be permitted to have it, were advanced in Mr. Cobbet's Letters on the Preliminaries of Peace; * but now, perhaps, it will not be unseasonable to state them a little in detail, and to introduce such others as have been suggested by time and additional information.—The attention of the court of Russia has, for a long time, been turned towards the southern provinces of that vast empire, where the soil is excellent; where the climate is favourable to every production even of the countries the most favoured by nature in Europe; and where all the great rivers, which penetrate deep into the heart of the empire, either fall into the Black Sea, or may, by the means of short canals, be made, at a very small expense, to join others that do run that course. The most important articles of Russian produce grow nearer to these rivers, and to the coast of the Black Sea, than to the Baltic; few of the Black Sea ports are frozen up in winter, as are those of the Baltic; and, in the former the Russians may have a nursery of sailors, from a mercantile marine, and, at all times, man the Imperial fleet. These opinions, long since adopted at St. Petersburgh, have led the Court of Russia to turn its attention towards the Crimea, and the southern provinces, infinitely more fertile than the Crimea itself; and, the result has been, a fixed persuasion, that the natural channel for the trade of Russia, is the Black Sea, and not the Baltic, a persuasion in which every person well-informed upon the subject seems to anticipate.— Peter I. had not that command of the Black Sea which the present emperor has: he judged rightly in making the best use he could of the Baltic, and his relative situation required the collection of his force in the north. Things are now changed. But, it is no less certain that even Peter I. had in view to prepare the way for driving the Turks out of Europe and for emancipating the Greeks. Without, however, going so far back; the Empress Catharine had actually put her hand to the work; and there is good reason to believe, that she intended to remove the court to those southern parts of her empire. On the banks of the Boristhenes, near the cataracts, she had begun to build a most magnificent city, and named it Catherinoslau (i. e. Catherine's Glory.) The palaces, the colleges for the departments of government, the university, &c. were all on a colossal scale, and in the purest stile of Grecian architecture. Cherson was built at a vast expense, and on one of its gates inscribed "*The road to Constantinople;*" but it was found that the air was unwholesome, and that the channels between the islands at the mouth of the river were too shallow, immediately sprung up another new city, Nicolaef, on the point at the junction of the Bog and the Ingulitz. Taganrog, on the sea of Asoph, is become an important city.—All the sea-port towns of the Crimea are repaired; on the mouth of the Niester, a city is built, which carries on a considerable trade, and a harbour is formed by the erection of a mole or pier: it is named Odessa. In short, every port or town is improved by whatever can tend to make it convenient and advantageous to trade and mercantile navigation The imperial fleet is stationed at Sebastopole in the Crimea, which is a large, safe, and beautiful harbour, and arsenals, docks, &c. are erected there.—Millions of acres of a soil, more rich than any other in Europe, lie uncultivated, not as in America covered with woods, but with the most luxuriant grass and clover, which would fatten innumerable herds and flocks, and which require only the plough, without any kind of manure whatever, to produce most abundant crops of corn. These lands will, by the new

* See Letters on the Peace, new edition, p. 42.

canals, and the new trade, be brought into cultivation, and a considerable population is daily removing southwards. — At the time that the Empress Catharine made her famous journey to visit these provinces, the French minister, Count de Segur, took an opportunity most dexterously to insinuate that the future prosperity of all these fine countries must, in a great measure, depend on their commerce with France; and accordingly, she concluded a treaty of commerce with him, which Mr. Fitzherbert (Lord St. Hellens) could not obtain. Were the Republic, as she probably will be, mistress of the Mediterrannean, there is little doubt, that her commerce with Russia, in those parts, would be as extensive as that of Great-Britain to the Baltic. The French will carry to Russia, wine, oil, dried fruits, silks, cloths, sugar, coffee, indigo, spices, and thousands of articles of luxury, which Russia does not produce or manufacture: they will take from her, hemp, flax, iron, masts, timber, tallow, furs, leather, salt provisions, (beef, pork, and fish,) isinglass, &c. This commercial intercourse will be mutually advantageous, and it admits of no rivalry, as the products and manufactures of the two countries are of different kinds. The French will supply Italy, Spain, Barbary, Egypt, and even the greater part of Turkey, and will be the carriers of the commerce of those countries.—With these facts before us, it requires no great degree of political sagacity to perceive, that the Russian merchants ardently wish to see the English out of Malta, and the whole of the Mediterranean; for while we remain there, whenever a war breaks out, we instantly put a stop to the French trade. The Russian court, too, must see with much uneasiness, the English established in such a manner to be able not only to block up the imperial fleets in the Black Sea, but even to enter that sea and to destroy the fleets and the ports where it may seek shelter. It is sincerely to be hoped, that no act, on the part of Russia, may ever justify a measure of this sort: good policy, on both sides, dictates indissoluble friendship, but, of this friendship the securest bond undoubtedly is, the possession of Malta by Great Britain.—How Malta came to be *given up by treaty*, and how a new *war came to be waged for the sake of retaining it*, the people must inquire of Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury. — These persons may sneer; but, they may rest assured, that the day will come, when they will, with fear and trembling, be compelled to render an account of their conduct: Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) long ago pronounced judgment upon them. — It is right that the public should know, that with respect to Malta, Mr. Pitt was most shamefully deceived by the ministers. They laid before him every statement in favour of the surrender of that invaluable possession; but, all the statements against it, all the remonstrances of the Maltese themselves, and all the memorials of other persons, they carefully hid from his sight; and thus they cheated him into an approbation of the most flagitious part of their conduct.

THE PURITANICAL MINISTRY, have, in their pamphlet, entitled, "CURSORY REMARKS, &c. &c." boasted of not having employed, during the last elections, any of those means, which other ministers had been in the practice of employing. The falsehood of this boast is notorious, and a correspondent, at page 397, has taken the trouble to lay before the public some facts well calculated to produce a just opinion respecting these pretenders to purity.——It should be known, too, that all the facts stated in the letter to the Editor, and several others equally shameful, were communicated to Mr. Addington, who received the complaint with the utmost indifference, trusting that it never would come before the public. ——The influence of government was exercised as extensively as on any former occasion, and, indeed, with a profligacy surpassing all former example, joined to a meanness peculiar to the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, but particularly the former. ——One would have liked to see the tender husband, the affectionate father, the candid conscientious minister, Mr. Henry Addington, turning upon his heel from the complaint of the *blind man*, who had been stripped of all his little comforts of life, merely because he had followed the dictates of his conscience! The *Tinman of Plymouth* may now hold up his head. It may not be amiss, on this occasion, to revert to the Speech of the Attorney General, against the poor silly Tinman. "My lords," said he, "I think it is due to the age and country, "in which we live, to state, what, indeed, "is universally believed, that there never "was a period in the history of this country, or of any other, in which the characters of persons in an exalted station of "public life, were SO *free from all suspicion* "of this species of offence, as the *present* "*moment*; and, that there is no character, "who stands in the public eye, more free "from the chance of even the worst, or the "most malignant enemy, insinuating such

" an offence against him, or whose *known* " *integrity of character*, proves him incapa- " ble of such a meanness more than that of " the right honourable gentleman, who was " thus insulted by the defendant, nor any " one that stands higher in the public esti- " mation at the present moment *."—Well, then, it is also due to the age and country, in which we live, to state the affair of the blind-man of Queenborough, whose adventure may serve as companion piece to that of the Tinman of Plymouth.——Low, talentless men always endeavour to make up for their other deficiencies by pretensions to superior, if not exclusive, *purity*.——

" An *honest* man's the noblest work of God."

——This maxim is continually upon their lips; and, they themselves are always *honest men*, till they are found out. Nor, when one comes to reflect, is it at all surprising, that this cant succeeds so well in the world. But a very small portion of mankind are possessed of considerable talents: regarding the absence of great talents as the proof of folly, the fools have a majority of at least twenty thousand to one. No wonder, therefore, that they have divided men into two classes, *rogues* and *fools*. But, nothing can be more fallacious; for, so far from folly being incompatible with roguery, it almost always happens, that a rogue is a fool in every thing unconnected with his roguery; to support which position, proofs innumerable might be adduced, without descending to low life, and certainly without going out of " the age and country in which we " have the happiness to live."

IRELAND.——A change of measures is seldom adopted by the same set of politicians, and that, with respect to this part of the kingdom, some change is necessary, is evident to every one, who reflects for a moment upon the affairs of Ireland. There is, indeed, to be a change; but it is confidently said, that it is to be confined solely to the Commander in Chief of the forces. General Fox has seen a vast deal of service; he commanded a battalion of grenadiers in America, during great part of the war; he was abroad, engaged in actual service, on the Continent and in the Mediterranean, during great part of last war; he has always been considered a very zealous and vigilant officer; and, there is every reason to believe, that, in the present instance, no part of the blame will be found to attach to him. The purse for secret service was no appendage to his situation, and, consequently, the acquiring knowledge of what might be secretly carrying on in the country was not his duty. The country can have no right to accuse him of want of precaution, unless he were duly apprized of the danger by the government; and, it is positively asserted, that the first intelligence conveyed to General Fox, of any dissaffection whatever existing in Ireland, reached him in *the afternoon only of the very day on which the insurrection broke out*, when he instantly ordered the guards to be doubled, and took every other precaution that time and his means would allow of. This fact being established, as there is every reason to believe it will be, the issuing of an order for the granting of furloughs (see present vol. p. 283) on the morning of the 23d July, no longer implies any neglect of duty on the part of General Fox, but on the part of the government only. Some *sacrifice*, however, is wanted: *somebody* must be to blame, and, it appears, General Fox is to be the Jonas. How he will sustain that character, remains to be seen; but the world will certainly be very much surprized, if he should tamely suffer his reputation, either as a loyal subject or as a military man, to be tarnished for the sake of any douceur that the Addingtons and Hawkesburies have to bestow.——As to his successor, LORD CATHCART, his appointment arises from a resolution, on the part of the ministry, obstinately to adhere to the system, by which Ireland has been brought to the brink of destruction, and which, if not abandoned, will, most assuredly, cause a separation of the kingdom, or, at least, a long and bloody civil war. It is certain that Lord Cornwallis came to town with a view of going to Ireland. The precise reasons, why he did not go, have not transpired; but few persons of any political information will find it difficult to guess at them. Lord Cornwallis is not, perhaps, a very proper person. The Orangemen hate him, and it is on the zeal of the Orangemen that the safety of Dublin must, for the present, depend. But, some other person than Lord Cathcart, some nobleman of great weight, something, at any rate, more than a mere courtier, might have been sent, at this critical period. The truth is, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, should be sent to Ireland as the King's Lieutenant. This step alone, even without any change in the laws, relative to the Catholics, would be received with a degree of gratitude, which nothing else could inspire; it would do away all jealousies and heart-burnings; it would give the Irish nation, what it never yet has had, hope; it would, if any thing could, first dissipate, and afterwards completely ex-

* See the whole of this curious proceeding in Vol. II. p. 1621 et seq.

tinguish, the embers of rebellion, which are now, and ever will be, till some such great measure is adopted, burning up the bowels and the heart of that unfortunate country.

LORD MOIRA.—As a commander of the forces, Lord Moira would have been a proper person to send to Ireland; but it seems that his lordship is to be appointed, or is appointed, to one of the divisions in the interior of England, where it is about a thousand to one, that his talents, except in his capacity as mere *inspector*, will never be wanted. The appointment does, however, answer one useful purpose for ministers; it tends to take from H. R. H. the Pr. of Wales one of the persons hitherto most attached to him. It was observed, in the preceding sheet, p. 370, that "every "exertion would be made to undermine "the influence of the Prince, *to lessen the "number of his adherents*, and to injure him "in the opinions of the people." But, his Royal Highness has only to remain steady in the pursuit of his present course, to baffle all the contrivances of the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, who must, for their conduct towards him in particular, first or last, be brought to shame.

THE FUND AT LLOYD'S, called the "Patriotic Fund," increases very slowly, not more than 2,000 pounds having been added to it, in the course of the last fortnight; and, it appears, that 700 pounds of that sum has been subscribed *by the clergy*, the much abused clergy, who might, one would think, find objects enough in their own order and their own neighbourhoods, on whom to bestow the surplus of their income. It must be from want of reflection alone, that they transfer their means and their influence to a committee of stock-dealers in London.

VOLUNTEER CORPS.——By a reference to Mr. Yorke's Letters, p. 401, it will be perceived, that the claims of these unruly bodies have been rejected. Their number is to be six times that of the established Militia; or, at least, no greater number is to be exempted from the operation of the Militia and Army of Reserve Acts.——These letters of the Secretary of State communicate to the nation, and also to the enemy, the fact of our having arms enough for no more than *one half* of the volunteers, at most, even including the arms already distributed and those furnished by the volunteers themselves. The proportion is, indeed, left *blank*, but the blank being preceded by the word *one*, it cannot be filled up with any thing *more* than *half*, while it may be filled up with third, fourth, fifth, or even tenth; and, it is far from being certain, that there are one-fourth part arms enough for the people, who have been called out and who are ostentatiously called "the *defenders of the "country*."——It cannot be forgotten, how earnestly the ministry were exhorted by Mr. Windham, Mr. Wilberforce, and others, to lose no time in providing arms.——They may, indeed, *have* them, and may, upon consideration, think it useless, or unsafe, to trust them all in the hands of those military parliaments, yclepcd volunteer-corps: if so, their discretion is to be applauded, and the nation have only to complain, that it came too late. In this case, however, better late than never; for, bodies of men, who are governed by committees, who occasionally form general meetings for deliberation and debate, and who take upon them to correspond and remonstrate with the government, are certainly better without arms than with them.——Arms should, nevertheless, be found, and instantly put into the hands of those who mean to fight and not to talk. Buonaparté is, very probably, preparing for an attack, either on England or Ireland; and, though the London news-writers now "contemplate the menace with *pleasure*, "and anticipate, in the result, a *proud and "happy day for Britain*;" yet, it is to be hoped, that the country will depend upon its *exertions*, and not adopt this empty boasting, this reliance upon one knows not what.—— The extraordinary secrecy, with which Buonaparté is conducting his measures, preparatory to an attack, may, and ought, to excite some alarm; but people ought not to be alarmed over much on that account. Ireland will most probably be his mark, and, in spite of the danger of Mr. Archdall's misrepresentations, the country should be told, that, while the present government remain in that country, Ireland is in a most dangerous state.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AN IRISH CORRESPONDENT will perceive, that we have attended to his suggestions.—F. L. may be assured "*The Merchants, KINGS of Albion's Isle!*" as the "Gentlemen at Lloyd's" are styled by a newspaper poetaster, are pretty well tired of their wheedling advertisements, and of their subscriptions, male and female.——A paper signed MOLYNEUX will be attentively considered.—— When "A CREDITOR" sends the sequel of his dissertation, the whole will be inserted.——"ANJOU" is requested to forward is intended remarks.

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